

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 CU-02 IO-13 OIC-02 OES-07
DHA-02 /091 W

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R 081226Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3738
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION BERLIN
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, RO
SUBJ: ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON CSCE BELGRADE MEETING
REF: BUCHAREST 3064

1. SUMMARY. IN MOST COMPREHENSIVE AND AUTHORITATIVE RECENT
GOR COMMENTARY ON BELGRADE CSCE MEETING WE HAVE SEEN,
ROMANIAN FONMIN MACOVESCU, WRITING IN RCP'S LEADING
THEORETICAL JOURNAL, "REA SOCIALISTA", REVIEWS GOR POLICY
AND PROPOSALS, BUT HIS REAL MESSAGE COMES THROUGH LUD AND
CLEAR, I.E. CONTINUED PRESSURE BY "CERTAIN CIRCLES" ON
BASKET III IS LIABLE DISRUPT ENTIRE CSCE PROCESS. ROMANIAN
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DEFENSIVENESS ON ISSUE IS ALSO VERY OBVIOUS. END
SUMMARY.

2. RCP'S THEORETICAL JOURNAL "ERA SOCIALISTA"
(JUNE, 11/1977) CONTAINS LENGTHY AND DEFINITIVE
ARTICLE BY FONMIN MACOVESCU ON BELGRADE CSCE
MEETING. MACOVESCU DEVOTES MAJOR PORTION OF

ARTICLE TO CRITICISM OF "POLITICIANS AND UNFORTUNATELY EVEN GOVERNMENTS" WHO ONLY SEE CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF FINAL ACT, USUALLY TAKING THEM OUT OF CONTEXT AND IGNORING UNITARY NATURE OF DOCUMENT. THEY THEREBY DISTORT FINAL ACT CHAPTERS AND IN PARTICULAR BASKET III, SEEKING TO USE THESE PROVISIONS FOR POLITICAL PRESSURE AND TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES. EH ALLEGES THAT AS BELGRADE APPROACHES "IMPERIALIST AND REACTIONARY CIRCLES" HAVE STEPPED UP THEIR ACTIVITY AIMED AT INCREASING DISTRUST, DIVISION AND SUBORDINATION. MACOVESCU'S REMEDY FOR THIS IS TO CONTINUE TO PERSEVERE IN SEARCH FOR COMMON LANGUAGE AND CONSENSUS.

3. MACOVESCU STATES THAT SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE WILL DEPEND ON A "THOROUGH, RESPONSIBLE AND LUCID ANALYSIS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT," WHICH "WITHOUT IGNORING DIFFICULT POINTS", WILL DISPENSE WITH "PASSION AND PROPAGANDISTIC DISCUSSIONS" SUCH AN ANALYSIS SHOULD BE NEITHER "EXCESSIVELY OPTIMISTIC" NOR "DISCOURAGINGLY PESSIMISTIC" AND SHOULD NOT TAKE FORM OF "WHO WINS OR LOSES". NO ONE IS GOING TO BELGRADE TO SIT ON BENCH OF THE ACCUSED, NOR CAN ANYONE ABROGATE TO THEMSELVES ROLE OF "JUDGE". SUCH AN ATTITUDE WOULD HAVE "SINGULAR AND INEVITABLE" RESULT OF INCREASING DISTRUST AMONG STATES AND BETRAYING HOPES OF EUROPEAN PEOPLES. THIS, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT CONFRONTATIONS NOT TAKE PLACE AT BELGRADE.
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4. DISCUSSING BASKET III MACOVESCU CLAIMS THAT ONE OF IMPEDIMENTS TO FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION IN THIS AREA HAS BEEN "INSISTENCE OF SOME CIRCLES" ON PROVISIONS REFERRING TO HUMAN CONTACTS AND PROBLEMS OF INFORMATION (READ RFE). OPERATING WITH THESE CONCEPTS OF THEIR OWN PHILOSOPHY "SOME FORCES HOSTILE TO NEW EUROPEAN COURSE" HAVE CEASELESSLY ATTEMPTED TO UTILIZE THESE PROVISIONS FOR POLITICAL PRESSURE AND TO OBTAIN FREE CIRCULATION OF TENDENTIOUS INFORMATION AND PSEUDO-CULTURAL PRODUCTS. NOTING RECENT GROWTH OF NEO-FASCISM IN SOME STATES, MACOVESCU STRONGLY ATTACKS THOSE WHO SEEK TO INSTIGATE EMIGRATION, PROVOKE DISSENSION AMONG PEOPLE AND AGITATE THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL CLIMATE. HE MAINTAINS THAT AUTHENTIC CONCERN IN THIS AREA SHOULD INSTEAD BE SHOWN BY SOLUTION OF GRAVE SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

5. HOWEVER, MACOVESCU ALSO NOTES THAT "IN SPIRIT OF HUMANITY AND REVOLUTIONARY HUMANISM" CHARACTERISTIC OF

RCP AND ROMANIAN STATE, HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS AND THOSE INVOLVING HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE BEEN AND WILL BE DISCUSSED AND CORRESPONDINGLY RESOLVED. SIMILARLY, FAMILY RE-UNIFICATION AND MIXED MARRIAGES HAVE BEEN AND WILL BZS TREATED "SERIOUSLY AND RESPONSIBLY", ALTHOUGH CLEAR DISTINCTION IS MADE BETWEEN THESE CASES AND INCITEMENT OF ROMANIAN CITIZENS TO EMIGRATE AND FOREIGN CAMPAIGNS TO RECRUIT SKILLED LABOR. MACOVESCU CLOSES THIS SECTIION BY COMMENTING, "THOSE WHO AT A GIVEN MOMENT ARE TEMPTED TO DELIVER LECTURES ON DEMOCRACY OR ANY OTHER TYPE OF LECTURE WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO ABSTAIN."

6. ON OTHER ASPECTS OF BELGRADE SESSION, MACOVESCU LAUDS CSCE METHODS OF WORK, I.E. BY CONSENSUS, AND NOTES REALIZATION OF EUROPEAN SECURITY IS BOTH LENGTHY AND COMPLEX PROCESS. ON BASKET II, HE RECALLS CEAUSESCU'S MARCH 28 SUGGESTION FOR A EUROPEAN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONFERENCE, AS WELL AS SOVIET PROPOSALS ON TRANSPORT, ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT. HE ALSO URGES NEW BALKAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AND GREATER ATTENTIION TO PROBLEMS OF EUROPE'S LDC'S. MACOVESCU SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT GOR MAY HAVE SOME PROPOSALS RELATING TO NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AND

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ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMON ASSISTANCE PROGRAM BY EUROPEAN STATES. AS USUAL, HE ALSO CALLS FOR MORE COMPREHENSIVE AND EXTENSIVE DISARMAMENT MEASURES, AS WELL AS FOR EUROPEAN NON-FIRST USE PACT. FINALLY, ONE OF "CENTRAL OBJECTIVES" OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE WILL BE ESTABLISHMENT OF "MODALITIES" FOR FUTURE MEETINGS AND "NECESSARY MECHANISMS "TO ENSURE CONTINUATION OF PRESENT EFFORT.

7. COMMENT: MACOVESCU'S ARTICLE IS INDICATIVE OF CONTINUED ROMANIAN CONCERN AND DEFENSIVENESS OVER WESTERN EMPHASIS ON BASKET III ISSUES. IT IS OBVIOUSLY WRITTEN FOLLOWING HIS ATTENDANCE AT RECENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MEETING OF WARSAW PACT FOREIGN MINISTERS. INTERESTINGLY, HOWEVER, IT DOES NOT SEEM TO REFLECT THE APPARENT INCREASINGLY CONFIDENT APPROACH NOW BEING TAKEN TOWARDS BELGRADE MEETING BY SOVIETS, PERHAPS BECAUSE SOVIET INDIFFERENCE TO FATE OF POST-BELGRADE CSCE PROCESS IS NOT SHARED BY GOR.
VIETS

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